

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-13 L-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6674
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMCONSUL MUNICH
US MISSION NATO BRUSSELS 796
US MISSION EC BRUSSELS 281

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2769

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, HU
SUBJ: DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER NAGY ARTICLE AND HUNGARIAN POLICY
OF CSCE

REF: BUDAPEST 2747

1. SUMMARY: ARTICLE BY DEPUTY FONMIN JANOS NAGY IN
TARSADALMI SZEMLE (SEE REFTTEL), RECENT MEDIA PLAY, AND
CONVERSTATION WITH MIDDLE-RANKING HUNGARIAN OFFICIAL DEALING
WITH CSCE ALL LEAD US TO CONCLUSION THAT HUNGARY DEVELOPING
FLEXIBLE BUT ASSERTIVE POLICY ON IMPLEMENTATION HELSINKI
FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH, WHILE NOT DIVERGING FROM SOVIET LINE,
WILL KEEP HUNGARY OUT AHEAD AS ONE OF MOST COOPERATIVE AND
SERIOUS IMPLEMENTORS OF CSCE AMONG SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.
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HUNGARIANS MAY WELL MAKE PROPOSALS TO U.S. RE CSCE

IMPLEMENTATION THIS FALL AND WE SHOULD BE READY WITH COUNTER-PROPOSALS. END SUMMARY.

2. SEVERAL INDICATIONS IN NAGY ARTICLE CAN BE FOUND OF OVERALL CONSTRUCTIVE HUNGARIAN ATTITUDE RE CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND HUNGARIAN ATTENTION TO CARRYING OUT TREATY'S PROVISIONS. NAGY, HOWEVER, DID NOT PASS BY OPPORTUNITY TO CRITICIZE WESTERN COUNTRIES ON ECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION AGAINST HUNGARY, RADIO FREE EUROPE, WESTERN RESTRICTIONS ON VISA ISSUANCE AND SO FORTH. HE ALSO REITERATED STANDARD EMPHASIS ON SECURITY QUESTIONS AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SIGNATORIES OF HELSINKI AGREEMENT. BUT HE (1) STRESSED VALUE OF FINAL DOCUMENT AS PART LONG-TERM PROCESS OF STRENGTHENING DETENTE, (2) CALLED FOR COOPERATION AND NOT MUTUAL RECRIMINATION AT 1977 BELGRADE CONFERENCE (THIS, OF COURSE, IS REFLECTION OF SOVIET CONCERN RE BELGRADE 1977 MEETING) AND (3) SOMEWHAT SURPRISINGLY GAVE CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN MEASURES EQUAL SPACE WITH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ONES IN HIS ARTICLE. HE GAVE UPBEAT ACCOUNT OF HUNGARY'S EFFORTS TO CARRY OUT HELSINKI PROVISIONS AND SAID, THEREFORE, HUNGARY IS IN GOOD POSITION TO TAKE FURTHER INITIATIVES, WHICH HE SAID HUNGARY WANTED TO DO ON A BILATERAL BASIS WITH ALL WESTERN SIGNATORIES. HE ALSO NOTED THAT HUNGARY HAD TAKEN UNILATERAL AS WELL AS BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL MEASURES TO IMPLEMENT CSCE, WHICH IF ONLY IN PASSING, SEEMS TO CONCEDE AT LEAST SOMETHING TO ASSERTION WE HAVE FREQUENTLY MADE TO GOH THAT MUCH CAN BE DONE UNILATERALLY AND PROGRESS NEED NOT BE THE RESULT OF TIT-FOR-TAT BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS.

3. SINCE NAGY WROTE HIS ARTICLE, CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION HAS BEEN GIVEN TO CSCE IN THE PRESS PARTICULARLY ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE AGREEMENT. SIMILARLY, RADIO AND TELEVISION HAVE PROVIDED INCREASING COVERAGE. TV HAD ONE FORUM ON QUESTION LAST MONTH DURING WHICH TWO WESTERN AND TWO SOCIALIST PARTICIPANTS DISCUSSED CSCE ISSUES AND ANOTHER IS SCHEDULED FOR AUGUST 18. TV AND RADIO COVERAGE CHARACTERISTICALLY MORE LIBERAL THAN PRINTED COVERAGE. MEDIA HAVE GENERALLY FOLLOWED LEAD GIVEN BY NAGY. RECENTLY, CRITICAL STRESS HAS BEEN GIVEN TO WESTERN INFRINGEMENTS
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OF HELSINKI ACCORD, FOR EXAMPLE, ALLEGED INTERFERENCE IN ITALIAN AFFAIRS CONTRARY TO THE HELSINKI SPIRIT AND WESTERN FOOT-DRAGGING ON MBFR. MEDIA NEVERTHELESS RETAIN OPTIMISTIC TONE.

4. IN RECENT MEETING BETWEEN EMBOFFS AND MRS. ISTVAN PAPP, ACTING HEAD OF RONMIN SECTION CHARGED WITH SCCE IMPLEMENTATION, LATTER SAID THAT HUNGARY ENGAGED ON SERIES OF BILATERAL

INITIATIVES WITH OTHER HELSINKI SIGNATORIES TO ACHIEVE

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

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US MISSION NATO BRUSSELS 797

US MISSION EC BRUSSELS 282

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AGREEMENTS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. SHE SAID HUNGARY FIRST DEALING WITH THOSE COUNTRIES--FOR EXAMPLE FRANCE, GERMANY, AND SOME OF THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES--WITH WHICH HER OFFICIALS HAD EXCHANGED HIGH-LEVEL VISITS DURING THE PAST YEAR (FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL OR ABOVE). SHE CONTINUED HUNGARY EXPECTED TO NEGOTIATE WITH ALL NEUTRAL AND WESTERN SIGNATORIES AND U.S. TURN WOULD PROBABLY COME IN SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION, MRS. PAPP SAID NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AND PERHAPS THE MINI-NEUTRALS (SAN MARINO, ETC) WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY. ACCORDING TO MRS. PAPP THE U.S. COULD EXPECT SOME PROPOSALS FROM GOH WHICH IT WOULD REGARD AS POSITIVE.

5. FROM NAGY ARTICLE, DIRECTION OF MEDIA COVDRAGE, AND
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PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS WITH MRS. PAPP, EMBASSY EXPECTS THAT PROPOSALS HUNGARIANS PUT TO US BILATERALLY MAY BE SIMILAR THO THOSE ALREADY PUT FORWARD TO FRENCH (PARIS 22295). INTER ALIA, THEY ARE LIKELY PLUMP FOR (1) INCREASED ECONOMIC COOPERATION, ESPECIALLY MEN TREATMENT (EVEN WHILE RECOGNIZING THIS NOT DEPENDENT ON COURSE OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS ALONE); (2) STEPS TO INCREASE AVAILABILITY OF PRODUCTS OF HUNGARIAN CULTURE AND INFORMATION MEDIA IN U.S., AND (3) LIBERALIZATION OF VISA REQUIREMENTS. THEY APPEAR READY TO NEGOTIATE IMPROVEMENT OF WORKING CONDITIONS AND TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS FOR JOURNALISTS AND REFERENCES BY NAGY TO FACT IT IS NOT A POLITICAL ISSUE THAT A FEW HUNDRED MORE OR FEWER COPIES OF BOURGEOIS PUBLICATIONS TRYING TO BE OBJECTIVE MIGHT BE DISTRIBUTED AS WELL AS EWDING OF RESTRICTIONS ON USIS DISTRIBUTION IN HUNGARY OF ITS PRODUCTS IN RECENT MONTHS, INDICATE THAT HUNGARIANS IN GIVE-AND-TAKE OF NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT SHOW FURTHER FLEXIBILITY ON QUESTION GREATER ACCESS TO HUNGARY OF WESTERN PUBLICATIONS.

6. OVERALL, WE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT HUNGARIAN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION MEASURES GO BEYOND WHAT SOVIETS HAVE DONE, PARTICULARLY IN EASING TRAVEL OF HUNGARIANS TO WEST. HUNGARY, OF COURSE, HAS ALWAYS BEEN OUT AHEAD OF MOST SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WITH REGARD TO OPENNESS TO INFORMATION FROM THE WEST AND IN ITS APPROACH TO HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS, LONG BEFORE CSCE. BUT SOVIET SPONSORSHIP OF AND SUPPORT FOR CSCE HAS MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR NAGY AND OTHER HIGH-RANKING SPOKESMEN TO COME OUT IN OPEN (AND PRIDEFULLY SO) RE GOH ACHIEVEMENTS.

7. WE ARE, OF COURSE, NOT SUGGESTING THAT HUNGARIANS ARE UNAWARE OF SOVIET POWER, OR EVEN OF SOME OF ADVANTAGES OF

THEIR ECONOMIC TIES WITH USSR. NOR ARE WE SAYING THAT HUNGARIANS ARE NOT CONCERNED ABOUT TOO MUCH EXPOSURE TO WESTERN CULTURAL AND OTHER INFLUENCE. WE ARE SAYING, HOWEVER, THAT CAUTIOUS AS EVER, THE HUNGARIANS MAY STRIVE UNDER CSCE COVER TO ACHIEVE SOME OF THEIR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES WITH RESPECT TO THEIR RELATIONS WITH HELSINKI SIGNATORIES IN A FLEXIBLE MANNER GOING SLIGHTLY
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BEYOND SOVIET POSITIONS AS LONG AS THIS IS NOT LIKELY TO
INCUR SOVIET DISPLEASURE OR CENSURE.

8. WE SHOULD BE READY TO DEAL WITH HUNGARIANS ON
THIS BASIS AND SPECIFICALLY TO COUNTER ANY HUNGARIAN
PROPOSALS ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION LATER THIS YEAR WITH
SPECIFIC PROPOSALS OF OUR OWN WHICH MIGHT BE ABLE TAKE
ADVANTAGE HUNGARIAN FLEXIBILITY. WE THEREFORE PLAN
SUBMIT IN NEAR FUTURE OUR IDEAS ON WHAT THESE U.S.
PROPOSALS MIGHT BE.
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